

strongly believe in the lessons of democracy handed down from our forefathers. The more our young people know about the Constitution and the Bill of Rights, the stronger our great Nation becomes. Remember that knowledge is power. Through learning, the young women of Virginia Girls State add to the vitality and strength of America.

Mr. President, as you know, there is no stronger foundation for democracy anywhere in the world than the U.S. Constitution. I commend the participants, supporters and founders of Virginia Girls State for their dedication to American citizenship and democracy.

Again, I extend a happy 50th anniversary to the Virginia Girls State.●

AUNG SAN SUU KYI

● Mr. SIMON. Mr. President, one of the most impressive political leaders in our world today is the courageous Aung San Suu Kyi of Burma, who has quietly, consistently but firmly, stood for democracy for Burma, now called Myanmar by its present leaders, but still called Burma by Aung San Suu Kyi.

The military government there which still does not permit free assembly or a multiparty system, or other things that democracies take for granted, to its credit, has released Aung San Suu Kyi from house arrest.

Recently, the Los Angeles Times published an interview with her by Scott Kraft, which said something about her courage and her country.

I particularly like his question "How does it feel to be a free citizen?" She replied:

I'm a free citizen but the country is not free. So I feel like a free citizen in an unfree country. I appreciate the opportunity to be in touch with the people. That is what our work is all about.

You know, I always felt free. I felt free when I was under house arrest because it was my choice. I chose to do what I'm doing and because of that, I found peace within myself. And I suppose that is what freedom is all about.

I ask that the Los Angeles Times article be printed in the RECORD.

The article follows:

AUNG SAN SUU KYI—STRIVING TO BUILD A DEMOCRACY AMID THE HARSH REGIME OF MYANMAR

(By Scott Kraft)

Aung San Suu Kyi had a rigid routine during the six years she spent under arrest in her family's lakeside home. She would rise at 4:30 a.m. for exercise and meditation, then spend the day reading biographies or autobiographies and listening to the radio. The only human being she would see was the maid.

Though free for eight months now, she still spends most of her days in that two-story house. But the 1991 Nobel Peace Prize winner is hardly isolated. Two appointments secretaries, one for foreign dignitaries and the other for fellow party members, have guided thousands of visitors to meet her.

"I'm afraid I can no longer keep to a strict timetable," Suu Kyi says. "I can't get up at 4:30 anymore because there are times I don't

get to bed until 2 a.m. If I got up early, I wouldn't be able to operate full-steam for 12 hours."

Many here hoped her release was a first step toward democracy in Myanmar. But the military regime, which nullified her party's victory in the 1990 elections, still runs the country. It is stage-managing a constitutional convention while trying to attract foreign investment.

Suu Kyi is biding her time and rebuilding her party network. Her weekdays are filled with appointments and on weekends, hundreds of supporters gather outside the gated compound to hear her speak and answer their questions. Soon, she says, the government will come to its senses.

Even as the government tries to ignore her, Suu Kyi, 50, remains the most-respected political figure in Myanmar. Her father, Aung San, is considered, even by her detractors, as the greatest hero of Burmese independence. He was assassinated in 1947, when she was 2.

Suu Kyi left Burma in 1960, at age 15, and later received a degree from Oxford University. She married a Briton, Michael Aris, who is now a professor and specialist in Tibetan studies at Oxford. In 1988, she returned to Burma to tend to her ailing mother and became a leader of the pro-democracy movement.

Aris and the couple's two sons, Kim, 18, and Alexander, 22, who are in school abroad, usually visit Suu Kyi at holidays, as they did during her years of house arrest, if the government grants them visas. Suu Kyi is prevented from leaving Myanmar only by the certainty that she would never be allowed to return.

In person, Suu Kyi is low-key and polite, though her determination is evident. She always refers to the country as Burma and the capital as Rangoon, purposefully ignoring the government decree that this nation be called Myanmar and the city, Yangon.

She meets visitors at home in a square room surrounded by 1940s-era photographs of her family and a wall-sized painting of her father. "The painting is a bit Andy Warhol, don't you think?" she says, "But it's really a very good likeness."

Q. How would you assess the eight months since you've been released? What are the positive developments and the disappointments?

A. Well, in politics, I don't think you ever get disappointed as such. It's an occupational hazard that things don't always turn out as you would wish them to. You hope for the best and prepare for the worst. That's politics.

The most positive aspect of things since my release is the fact that our party has become far more active. We've been reorganizing and reconsolidating. We've been subjected to a lot of restrictions. There continue to be intimidations and harassment.

But we still have the strong support of the people and we manage to get along with our party building.

Q. Many in the West thought that when you were released, everything would begin to improve.

A. I don't think it's as simple as that. There are some people who say I was released because the government thought the National League for Democracy was dead. But in fact, it is far from dead. There have been miscalculations like that in the past by this government.

In the 1990 elections, the government thought we might win a plurality but not an absolute majority. In fact, we got 82%, with the result that those elections have been totally ignored and our members persecuted.

Q. So you aren't disappointed in the slow pace of change?

A. I wouldn't say "disappointed" is the word. There is so much happening within our party that it does compensate for what is not happening on the other side.

Of course, we know that the best thing for the country is national reconciliation, which can only take place through dialogue. And we hope that it will take place sooner rather than later. But that doesn't mean we just sit and hope. We have other work to do and we carry on.

Q. So you aren't impatient with the pace of things?

A. If you are very busy, you have no time to be impatient. If you ask us when do we want democracy, well, we want it now, of course, I feel just as strongly about that as anybody else. But because we are so occupied with our numerous jobs, we are not that impatient.

Q. Do you think the current constitutional conference, in which your party is not participating, is a step in the right direction?

A. No. That constitution is not headed for democracy. In the first place, they are not allowing political parties to operate effectively, and without political parties operating effectively there can be no multiparty democracy.

The constitution they are writing really doesn't mean anything. A constitution is just a piece of paper unless it has the support of the people, and many a country has gone through many a constitution that is unacceptable to the people. Such constitutions do not last.

Q. So what can you do to get this government to change direction?

A. It is the will of the people that the country should become a democracy, and I'm sure the people will join me in guiding the country to its democracy. We will do what we can as a legally registered party. We will use political means of reaching our goal. This is our constant.

Q. So you are talking about passive resistance.

A. We don't really believe that the way to bring about democracy is by encouraging popular uprisings. We believe that democracy will come through the strength of the political will of the people, expressed through political parties.

Q. How does it feel to be a free citizen?

A. I'm a free citizen but the country is not free. So I feel like a free citizen in an unfree country. I appreciate the opportunity to be in touch with the people. That is what our work is all about.

You know, I always felt free. I felt free when I was under house arrest because it was my choice. I chose to do what I'm doing and because of that, I found peace within myself. And I suppose that is what freedom is all about.

Q. Do you think that it is possible the government thought it could make you a non-person by releasing you?

A. Sounds likely, doesn't it? Yes, it seems likely.

Q. The government often points out that you are married to a foreigner. How important is that criticism to the average Burmese?

A. I don't think it means very much. If I were married to a Burmese, they'd probably attack my husband's family for other reasons than that he was foreign. Don't forget that they are also attacking—very, very viciously—other party leaders who are not married to foreigners.

Q. Is your husband able to visit you?

A. He came for Christmas, but last year he was refused a visa for the Easter holidays. So he comes if he gets a visa.

Q. You have frequently called for dialogue with the government.

A. Yes, we believe in dialogue and we will always believe in dialogue because that's the way all political problems end up.

Q: Has the government made any overtures to you?

A: Our party has a policy that we will make no statements about dialogue until we decide we are ready to bring out an official version.

Q: So you're saying . . . ?

A: What I'm saying is that I'm not answering your question (laughs).

Q: If there is an election based on the government's new constitution, would your party participate?

A: We don't even know whether there is going to be a constitution or what sort of constitution. In any case, I don't think we should be talking about the next elections when the issue of the last elections has not yet been resolved.

Q: Currently, the government is promoting foreign investment, and many companies, including Unocal in Los Angeles, have investments here. What's your message to those companies?

A: We have always said—very, very clearly—that Burma is not right for investment. The climate is not right because the structural changes necessary to make an investment really profitable are not yet in place.

We have now acquired in Burma a small group of very, very rich people. We did not have such people eight years ago—people who could go to a hotel and spend \$1,000 on a meal. That was unheard of. And the gap between the haves and the have-nots is increasing. That does not make for social stability.

Q: Do you think the government's hold on power will be strengthened as it opens up the economy?

A: Well, it's not a free market. Some are freer than others in their access to the market. The mechanism necessary for a really healthy open economy does not yet exist. And one of the most important parts of that is the rule of law. You have to know where you stand. . . . Without that, there can be neither credibility nor confidence. And every businessman must agree that good business cannot be done without credibility and confidence.

Q: What do you do to discourage investment?

A: It's not just what I say and it's not just the support there is abroad for the movement for democracy. Potential investors who really study the situation in depth, who don't just take a superficial view, will come to their own conclusion that the time is not yet right.

They may want to put a little bit here so they can have a toe hold, waiting for the day when Burma takes off. Of course, that day will be when democracy comes.

Q: In your heart, when do you think that will come? Are we talking five years?

A: I can't really say. But certainly I don't think it will be that long.

On the other hand, I know there will be a lot of problems to deal with once we have democracy. In fact, I think we'll probably have more problems after we have democracy than before. This is always the case when a system changes from an authoritarian system to an open and transparent one.

Q: You tell the crowds that democracy is no panacea.

A: Yes, I tell them that under a democracy, we will have to be prepared to take responsibility for our country's problems. Once they have democracy, they can no longer blame the government because they are really the government.

Q: But won't there need to be pressure to bring about change here?

A: There is international pressure. But of course what is more important is that there is pressure from within.

The Burmese people are tired of authoritarianism, and they have seen for

themselves that the authoritarian system has not done the country any good at all. Our standards of education are falling. Standards of health are falling. The fact that we have new hotels does not make up for the fact that our children are less well-educated.

Q: Were you surprised, after your release, that there was still strong support for you? Did you worry that you might have been forgotten?

A: No, no. I was not that surprised. It's nothing to do with me. It has more to do with the desire of the people for a system that gives them both liberty and security. This is what people want, isn't it? People want to be free and at the same time they want to be secure.

Q: And you personally?

A: It's not me they are supporting in particular. The government seems to think it's me personally that the people are supporting. This government always gets things wrong.

We won the election in 1990 because the people wanted democracy. It was not because of me.

Q: Do you worry about your safety?

A: No, I don't worry very much at all. It's not because I'm all that courageous or anything. It's just that there is no point in it. If they want to do anything to me they can do it any time they like. •

COLLEGE NATIONAL FINALS RODEO

• Mr. BURNS. Mr. President, I stand today to wish all those young cowboys and cowgirls that are participating in the College National Finals Rodeo good luck. These fine young men and women are at the heart of the sport of rodeo and deserve to be commended for their hard work and determination.

The CNFR is especially important to all these young riders because of the great opportunity for college scholarships and prizes. For many, this competition will determine which school they will be able to afford, if any. These generous scholarships are provided by the U.S. Tobacco Association and they should be given applause for their work to strengthen the sport and help these young riders obtain a college education.

The city of Bozeman has also contributed a great deal to the CNFR. Celebrating the 25th anniversary of hosting the rodeo, the Brick Breiden Field House has provided the perfect location for the finals and hopefully will continue to do so well into the future.

You have good reason to be proud of your sport and what you do. As the only original America sport, you are carrying on a tradition that was started over 100 years ago. When the cowboys of the Old West were driving their herds across the plains, little did they know that their friendly competitions would become a multimillion dollar sport. Your dedication to the rodeo honors them and their hard work and commitment to the land.

My hats off to you and the best of luck. •

AND IN THE LONG RUN—WE SHOULD WIN

• Mr. SIMON. Mr. President, recently the New York Times carried an item in

its business section, written by Richard H. Koppes, deputy executive officer and general counsel of the California Public Employees Retirement System, the Nation's largest public employee pension fund with almost \$100 billion in assets.

What he writes makes a huge amount of good sense.

He calls on corporate America to look long term rather than short term. Both in politics and in business we have the tendency to look short term.

I ask that the New York Times article be printed in the RECORD.

The article follows:

[From the New York Times, May 19, 1996]

AND IN THE LONG RUN WE SHOULD WIN

(By Richard H. Koppes)

Last Thursday, President Clinton put the spotlight on excessive corporate profits and exorbitant layoffs by holding a party at the White House to congratulate those companies that "do well" by their employees and their shareholders.

The Administration, however, may want to take to the woodshed the real culprits of corporate greed: the boards of directors that have allowed "the hollowing out" of America's corporations to obtain short-term increase in stock prices.

That statement may be surprising, coming from the Nation's largest public pension fund and one of this country's strongest advocates for good performance. But contrary to assumptions being made in some board rooms of the United States, Calpers, the California Public Employees Retirement System, is not pushing to bump up short-term stock prices. We are a company's long-term patient capital and are troubled when companies sell out to short-term Wall Street traders.

So let me set the record straight: Calpers opposes layoffs to lift stock prices in the near term. This is wrong and will not work to create wealth over the long run. One public pension fund official put it best recently when he said, "You can shrink your way to profitability in the short term, but it isn't the road to greatness in the long run."

Calpers doesn't condone what's going on. We won't participate in that kind of greed. And we intend to be a constructive voice to change it, by demanding high-quality, independent directors.

How did America's corporations get to this point? To understand, we need only examine the evolution of the balance of corporate power over the last decade.

When investors began to zero in on corporate governance issues in the early 1980's management held most of the power that might rightfully have belonged to the company's directors and its share owners.

As corporate governance activism grew, share owners, from the short-term Wall Street traders to the long-term investors like Calpers, became increasingly influential, and managers began to heed their share owners' bidding. Some managements over-responded to the point that they were willing to slash human assets to improve stock prices.

Either way, the balance of power is out of whack, this time have swung too far toward share owners. Institutional investors recognize it is not their role to govern the company. That is the responsibility of the board. Only the directors can insure that neither management nor share owners hold an unequal share of the power.

How do they do that? They can learn a lot from the Chrysler Corporation and what transpired when Kirk Kerkorian vigorously sought to distribute more of Chrysler's \$7.5 billion in cash to shareholders last year.